

Routes to tour in Germany

The Rheingold Route

German roads will get you there — to the Rhine, say, where it flows deep in the valley and is at its most beautiful. Castles perched on top of what, at times, are steep cliffs are a reminder that even in the Middle Ages the Rhine was of great importance as a waterway. To this day barges chug up and down the river with their cargoes. For those who are in more of a hurry the going is faster on the autobahn that runs alongside the river. But from Koblenz to

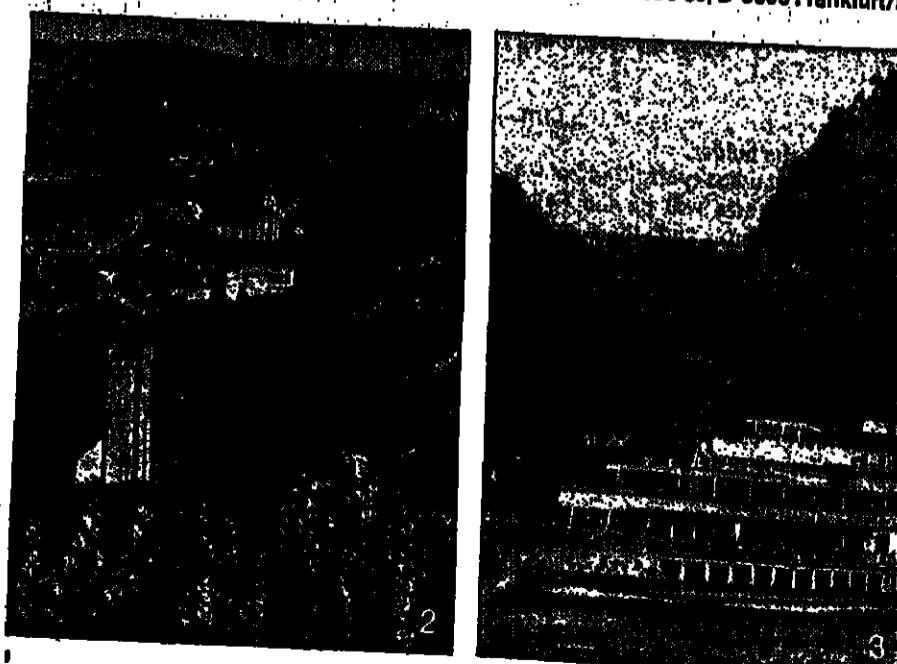
Bingen you must take the Rheingold Route along the left bank and see twice as much of the landscape. Take the chairlift in Boppard and enjoy an even better view. Stay the night at Rheinfels Castle in St Goar with its view of the Loreley Rock on the other side. And stroll round the romantic wine village of Bacharach.

Visit Germany and let the Rheingold Route be your guide.



- 1 Bacharach
- 2 Oberwesel
- 3 The Loreley Rock
- 4 Boppard
- 5 Stolzenfels Castle

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Europe urged to step into Chad crisis

Europe has been sharply criticised at

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hours by Soviet troops airlifted from southern Russia.

Between 1,500 and 2,000 large freighters and up to 5,000 smaller cargo vessels a day carry goods to and from Western Europe in the Mediterranean.

European industry depends on this trade for a living, and the European industrial region is the second-largest in the world after the United States.

Safeguarding the right of innocent passage for Mediterranean shipping is thus a crucial issue for Europe.

It would be endangered the moment the Soviet Mediterranean fleet had enough bases between Gibraltar and the Dardanelles.

As yet the Soviet Mediterranean squadron lacks these bases, which is why the Red Fleet in the area consists of two thirds supply vessels.

Let us assume Col. Gaddafi were to follow up the seizure of power by his friends in many African countries (including Tunisia, where he recently sought in vain to stage a coup) by takeovers in Algeria and Morocco.

Pro-Soviet policies would prevail on the southern coastline of the Mediterranean and danger would be in the offing for Western Europe.

Moscow might harbour hopes of gaining access to Algerian naval facilities at Mers el-Kebir after more than 20 years waiting.

The Red Fleet would then have a base in the western Mediterranean, which could be sure to have repercussions on the outcome of the proposed plebiscite in Spain on whether to stay in NATO.

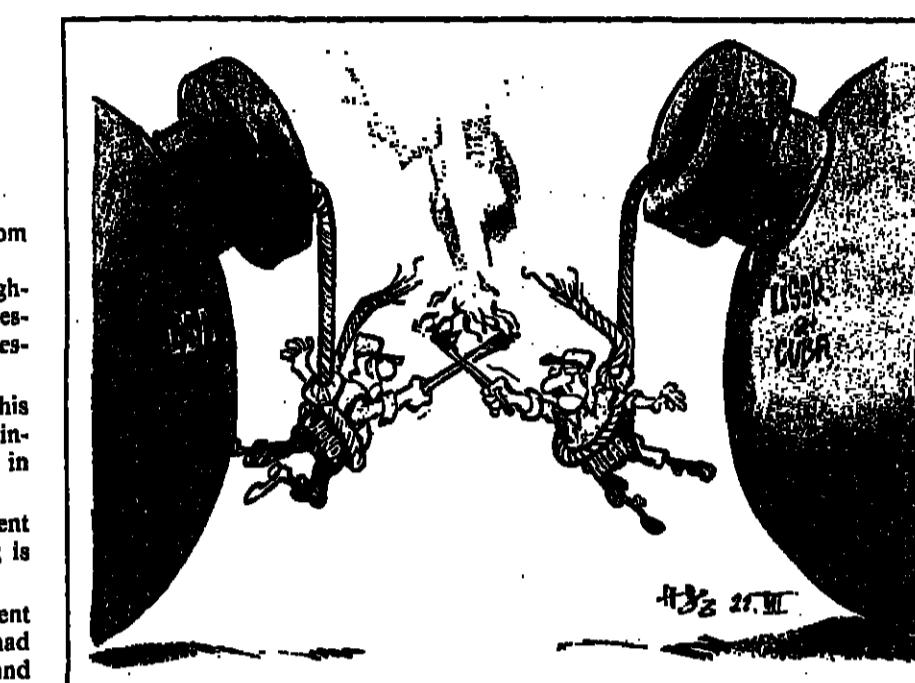
In this situation the Americans at NATO in particular fail to see how the Europeans can, by and large, quietly enjoy their summer holidays while Col. Gaddafi tries to fan the flames of revolution.

The Libyan leader's repeated attempts to enter into cooperative relations with Western Europe are seen as politically inadequate proof of friendship until evidence to the contrary is forthcoming.

The Federal Republic of Germany

buys roughly five per cent of its crude oil from Libya, but the Americans are not impressed.

Above all, they are dissatisfied with France for only gradually deciding to



(Cartoon: Hiltzinger/Saarbrucker Zeitung)
commits French forces and equipment in Chad.

France is bidding its time partly because of commercial interests in Libya and partly in view of domestic objections by the French coalition parties, the Socialists and Communists, to operations that are felt to reek of neo-colonialism.

If Col. Gaddafi succeeded, the entire economic system of Western European prosperity might be called into question, Nato officials warn.

Western Europe would be surrounded, with Soviet forces stationed to its south and capable of ending freedom of the seas in the Mediterranean whenever Moscow saw fit.

So the Common Market countries are called on to do more for the Maghreb states: Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco.

Hermann Bohle

(Kleiner Nachrichten, 11 August 1983)

has even kept up its ineffective development aid to Nicaragua.

The US government must be allowed a certain leeway in its choice and use of means, especially as it is a government constantly observed by a vigilant Congress and critical journalists and called on to justify each and every move it makes.

Bonn would do well to observe restraint on two main counts, the first being that Central America is not a part of the world that is of immediate interest to Germany, whereas it is to the United States.

Second, we cannot refuse our most powerful ally the freedom of decision to which we ourselves lay claim.

Those who feel a German Ostpolitik must continue to be pursued in the national interest and regardless of US objections can hardly blame the Americans for insisting on a solution that is to their liking in Central America. That leaves the moral assessment, but even in the moral sector over-hasty judgments would be ill-advised. Central America is extremely difficult terrain.

Gerhard von Glienski

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt,
12 August 1983)

US tactics may pay off in Central America

Many critics are saying US military intervention in Central America is morally indefensible and politically ill-advised.

Yet the fact is that the build-up off the coast of Nicaragua and San Salvador is accompanied by remarkable offers to negotiate.

Not for ages have there been so many signs of a possible diplomatic settlement. President Reagan's special envoy is finding everyone willing to talk.

Fidel Castro, a constant troublemaker in the region and in American eyes the sole scapegoat, says he is prepared to withdraw his agents from the disputed areas (subject to certain conditions of course).

US Secretary of State George Shultz feels things are on the move. But in which direction? That is the question.

Can we be sure that military pressure on its own will lead to the right solutions? The Reagan administration seems by no means convinced this will be the case.

From a safe port it is easy to engage in polemics and advise Bonn not to back everything Washington does out of mistaken solidarity.

Much to the chagrin of US government officials Bonn does not go in for that kind of solidarity in any case; it

WORLD AFFAIRS

Crisis in divided Lebanon poses a confused challenge for US envoy

SONNTAGS
BRIEFT

President Assad of Syria says Israel and the United States want to partition Lebanon. Israel's Defence Minister, Moshe Arens, says it is the Syrians who are keen to partition the country, and the Americans agree.

The Lebanese, whose country is at stake, have for weeks been engaged in a desperate bid to make the impossible possible and get all foreign troops to withdraw from the entire country.

In Beirut the visit to Washington by President Gemayel was felt to be one of the last opportunities of solving the Lebanon crisis.

Hope and scepticism are now concentrated in equal measure on the mission undertaken by the new US special envoy, Robert McFarlane.

The situation could hardly be more muddled. Lebanon, tiny though it is, is practically split into three.

Israel occupies one third of the country, the south and the south-west. Syrian forces control over a third of the country, the north and the Bekaa valley in the east.

Only Greater Beirut is currently held by the legal government. What is more, Israel's plans to withdraw from the contested Chouf mountains are no less serious a problem for the central government.

The left-wing Socialist Progressive Party, the Druse party led by Walid Jumblatt, refuse to allow Lebanese troops to be stationed in its territory until a political solution has been arrived at that guarantees the rights of the Druse community.

In particular, it would like to see the community's rights guaranteed with regard to the right-wing Christian militia of the ruling Phalange Party which the Druses feel have sneaked into traditional Druse territory in the Israeli's wake.

While President Gemayel was in Washington Mr Jumblatt, with Syrian backing, joined forces with Rashid Karame and Suleiman Franjeh to set up a new Opposition group, the National Salvation Front.

They said they were going to set up a counter-government and virtually declared war on the regular Lebanese army.

War would be declared, they announced, if the Lebanese army were to march into the Chouf mountains once the Israelis withdrew to southern Lebanon, as they had said they intended to do.

For the past eight months a no-holds-barred struggle has been waged in the Chouf mountains between Druse irregulars and Phalange militiamen.

Israel is likely to go ahead with its withdrawal plans. The Lebanese are afraid this partial withdrawal may comment the division of their country into three.

Despite protestations to the contrary the Israelis have settled in as though they planned to stay in southern Lebanon for years.

The Syrians persist in their viewpoint that Syrian troops will not be withdrawn until the last Israeli has left Lebanon and the withdrawal agreement between Israel and Lebanon as arranged by the Americans has become null and void.

Syrian leaders stress that the agreement as it stands is a threat to Syrian security and makes Lebanon dependent on Israel.

Many Lebanese have visions of a new civil war that would consign Lebanon as a separate state to the dust-heap of Middle East history once and for all.

The Druses, who as they see it are merely defending their territory against the Christian Phalangists, are by no means alone in regarding the Lebanese army as an arm of the right-wing Phalange Party, which is run by Maronite Christians.

Nabil Berri, the political leader of the Shias in Beirut, recently stressed in terms of unprecedented trenchancy that the army would be finished if it were to advance into the Chouf mountains.

Lebanon as a united political entity would likewise be finished unless a political compromise was reached beforehand by all religious groups.

He added that the Shias wanted an army for all Lebanese and not an army that was merely an instrument of the

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EUROPE

Declarations alone are not enough to ease tension

Christians who already have power in the state. Shiite Muslims have always had a disadvantage in Lebanon and now demand their rights, hundreds of thousands of largest refugee community in

Greater Beirut has a population of two million, or roughly two-thirds of the country's population. Their conditions are catastrophic, while social problems have grown explosive.

So there can be no denying Gemayel's government faces a greater dilemma today than ago.

Both Bonn and East Berlin agree that war must never again begin in the left-wing Opposition, which is German territory. Both have reiterating. It is no longer enough to do this policy since Helmut Schmidt's Foreign Minister Egon Bahr established it together with a new formula, then to

do something more is needed if tension is to be reduced.

It is necessary to tackle the task before then. Nobody should be allowed to take the easy way out by saying that such efforts are pointless.

What matters is not to underestimate the positive signs that are in evidence and make full diplomatic use of them.

The Soviets have always pursued a two-track policy. Where West Germany is concerned, they beat their propaganda drums, threatening to erect a missile fence between the two Germanys should the new US weapons be deployed.

These are the facts. The option also be coordinated.

At the same time they knot new ties with this country wherever possible and send out signals to indicate that other and better things are possible.

Not too much should be made of the sabre rattling by Soviet Defence Minister Ustinov.

At the last East Bloc summit, the Soviets were unable to bring about new threatening resolutions. They were evidently dealing with partners who had become more self-assured and were unwilling to add their part to the frostiness of the international political climate.

It cannot have been Romania's un

luck that Ceausescu alone who prevented Moscow's nuclear muscle flexing.

Moreover, the surprise Soviet-American grain deal at this particular time proves that the two superpowers depend on each other despite their constant baring of teeth.

Helmut Kohl and Erich Honecker should bear this in mind.

Helmut Bauer

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 6 August 1983)

Many small members of the Pact

ignore the prestige needs of the

(Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, 11 August 1983)

Moscow has long lost the grip on the

communist camp that enabled it to

individual members to the line

sterner.

It is no secret that there are plenty of

troops both in Nato and the Warsaw

and Britain, nuclear powers. In

Iran and Iraq currently remain

worn-out boxers neither of whom

has enough strength left to knock

out yet neither of whom is prepared

call it a day.

They have grown accustomed

getting an eye for an eye, a tooth

Their seconds egg them

weapons, pocketing the proceeds

Fanaticism, or is it fatalism, drives

youngsters of war-weary people

one battle after another for the East

Bloc.

A reflection of the change in attitude

between East Berlin and Moscow is the

arrival of Soviet Ambassador Pyotr

Abrassimov.

Abrassimov spent two terms in East

where he behaved with the air of

Soviet commandant. Sensitivities of

East Germans did not worry him

much.

It is well known in Moscow that

spending nine years in East Berlin

was sent back for a second term be

it was thought that this would be the

way to control Honecker.

Abrassimov had suggested Honecker

successor to Walter Ulbricht as head

of the East Berlin government.

It is well known in Moscow that

the GDR government had no

but to put up with the affront

of Abrassimov's return.

More scope for East Berlin means

that the chill between America and the

Soviet Union need not necessarily af-

fect Western Europe.

Peter Selditz

(Der Tagesspiegel, 30 July 1983)

Despite the anticipated good harvest in the Soviet Union this year, Moscow needs American grain just as Washington has to sell its surplus to the "evil incarnate" to avoid domestic problems.

It is also no coincidence that the Soviets are making such speedy progress with the gas pipeline to Europe. This East-West energy axis will lead to further interdependence.

It drives it home once more that economic interests are one thing and propaganda another.

Despite confrontation on the arms issue, the Soviets extol the advantages of cooperation.

The Madrid CSCE Final Act must be seen in a similar light. Anybody who has taken the trouble to fight it out in Madrid over several years in order to make a bit of progress — no matter how meagre — does not want to sever ties but wants to go on talking.

Yuri Andropov and his politburo realise that putting an end to talks, diplomacy and cooperation in many fields would be tantamount to cutting off one's nose to spite one's face.

Even President Reagan and his team must face the same fact once they rid themselves of the line of argument of its ideological elements.

The DM1bn loan to the GDR fits into this picture. It would be neither politically nor economically logical to borrow the money and then close the borders.

Therefore, this transaction is another important stone in the mosaic. Putting it all together, we do not get a super sharp picture that would instantly convince the sceptics; but their contention that all chances have already been is clearly disproved.

What is needed is the courage, to think the seemingly unthinkable, — the same courage the late French President de Gaulle once showed.

And exactly this is the task that Bonn and East Berlin have shouldered — a task by which they will be measured not only by history but by their people today.

Helmut Kohl and Erich Honecker should bear this in mind.

Helmut Bauer

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 6 August 1983)



Friedrich Reinecke

German Tribune
publisher and
founder dies

Friedrich Reinecke, founder and publisher of *The German Tribune*, has died at the age of 62.

He was born in Hamburg where he went to school and University.

From smallest beginnings he built up a publishing house that tells the whole world about the Federal Republic of Germany.

It publishes press services, press reviews and magazines.

Work began in 1953 with a press service in Spanish for Spain and Latin America. Then came press services in Portuguese, Arabic and Japanese.

German Features (DaD) was reprinted a millionfold in newspapers all over the world, being sent out at one stage in 40 different languages.

In 1962, Friedrich Reinecke launched *The German Tribune*, a weekly review of the German press aimed at an international readership.

It currently appears in English, French, Spanish, Portuguese and Italian.

In 1966 the first magazine was published; covering political, economic, cultural and scientific life in the Federal Republic of Germany.

HaAil (in Hebrew it means The Future) was the first language edition. Then came *Prisma* in Rumanian and *Profil* in Hungarian and Polish.

After protracted preparations *Guten Tag*, in Russian, appeared in 1979. Readers in the Soviet Union were joined in 1982 by readers in China.

The German-Chinese Forum is the latest stone in the mosaic of foreign-language publishing by the Friedrich Reinecke Verlag.

The company may specialise in foreign work but it also engages in domestic activities.

Interpress Verlag publishes a daily biographical press service, also the *West German Industrial Service* (WIS) on behalf of leading international companies.

Obersee Rundschau is published quarterly on behalf of German foreign trade associations.

Aussenpolitik, the German foreign affairs quarterly, is published in German and English.

At the time of his death, Herr Reinecke was president of the Association of German News Services.

East Berlin shows a new image of self assurance

DER TAGESSPIEGEL

The German Tribune

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■ RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS

Bishops' messages for peace deserve more than a hasty reading

The peace messages of both the German and the American bishops have been judged superficially. And the same will happen when the forthcoming conference of German bishops releases the translation of the American pastoral letter on peace (together with its Dutch, Austrian, Belgian, Irish, Hungarian and East German counterparts).

There will again be hastily handed down praise and censure — perhaps along the lines of the firebrand Catholic theologian Uta Ranke-Heinemann who not too long ago pinned the label "auxiliary Nato bishops" on Germany's churchmen because they were allegedly prepared to tolerate an ABC (atomic, biological, chemical) war. She called the American pastoral letter a "hermaphrodite of manliness and brainwashing."

It is obvious that such criticism must be viewed with reservations.

But the praise some politicians had for the German peace message is also likely to be due to the hasty conclusion that the German bishops have tacitly given their blessing to the deployment of new US missiles in Germany.

Only a careful study shows that neither praise nor censure is warranted on the basis of the text itself.

There have been many comparisons of the American and the German peace messages, primarily to show how reactionary the one is and how progressive the other.

Yet the obvious thing would be at least try to read the messages carefully in order to distill what the two groups of bishops said or wanted to say. Even these attempts are bound to remain incomplete — but this does not make them superfluous.

Let us start with the heading. The Germans deliberately called their pastoral letter a "Peace Message" while the Americans opted for "Pastoral Letter." This in itself indicates that the American message is more binding than its German counterpart.

The titles also differ. The American message speaks of the challenge of peace, God's promise and our response, indicating the intention to come up with concrete answers. The German message is entitled "Justice Makes Peace," indicating that its theme can perhaps be summed up as "justice is another word for peace."

As if anticipating that the Third World churchmen in Vancouver would complain that the industrial world was so involved in its arms debate as to forget the famine in the Third World, the German bishops took this into account in their message.

A perusal of the American pastoral letter shows how much the American bishops see the problems in a national light. In numerous places they stress that the United States is a superpower with nuclear weapons, reminding the reader that the American church has, since Vietnam, made an about-turn in its assessment of war and peace.

To some extent, this national vantage point also explains why the American letter has had a one-sided fixation on a nuclear war ever since the first pages were drafted. This emphasis has remained despite many changes in the text.

There are experts who say that the

reason for this is that a conventional war would in any event not be waged on American soil.

The German bishops, on the other hand, write from the vantage point of those whom they have to protect; people who have no power to start a war or to decide on the use of nuclear weapons. As they see it, a conventional war is as evil as a conventional one.

This could be due to the awareness that a conventional war would be as disastrous as a nuclear one for country and the Federal Republic of Germany.

In any event, the national component should not be lost sight of when comparing the two messages.

This is not so when reading between the lines. Oversimplified, it seems that the Germans think more in terms of a representative democracy while the Americans think in terms of a grass-roots democracy.

In other words, the Germans rely more on the competence of politicians and experts while the Americans feel entitled — or even called upon — to make their own judgment. They want to act and make the Administration act.

They criticise their Administration in a way that would be unthinkable in Germany.

This could have something to do with the emancipation drive of the American Catholics — unlike in Germany where there are traditionally close ties between the church and the Christian Democrats.

Another question (more or less in parenthesis) is whether the German bishops would have said things differently if Germany was a nuclear power.

Throughout its drafting phase, the American pastoral letter was open to

the public discussion. Countless people had their say and were able to form an opinion.

This has both advantages and disadvantages. It is certainly an advantage to make it easy for the public to learn of the ultimate intention.

Misunderstandings about the intention can be avoided when the motion of a bishop to have a passage that was dropped in the second draft reinstated in the third draft is sustained with majority backing.

With the German message, it was only the final result that was made public. There was much speculation, some of it malicious. There can be little doubt that many a misinterpretation could have been avoided if more had been known about the drafting process.

For instance: the fact that one bishop, backed by others, threatened to withhold his approval if the final text retained a passage on the "first strike" with nuclear weapons shows how determined the bishops were not to judge individual weapons or strategies.

Interpretation would have been easier had the public known about this.

The consensus principle of the German bishops was both advantageous and disadvantageous. On the one hand, a paper must be enormously broad and general to be carried by all bishops; on

the other, all bishops can later be pinned down on such a text.

Public discussion so far overlooks the common ground of the two messages. For example, they fully agree on the biblical peace concept including quotations to the effect that peace is both a gift of God and a task for mankind.

Both papers are based on a comprehensive concept of peace: peace with God, peace in one's own heart and peace among people.

The peace concept is never just political, and both papers operate on the assumption that there will never be total peace in this world — although this is a task assigned to Christians.

Many critics have applied wrong yardsticks here: it is foolish to apply only strategic criteria to such pastoral letters.

The last chapters of both letters, dealing with the pastoral consequences for peace work, are also very similar though in some cases the accents are placed differently.

Here, the Americans have established a conspicuous link with the abortion issue, holding that we must ask ourselves how long a nation that is prepared to constitutionally guarantee the right to kill defenceless human beings through abortion will show restraint when it seems advantageous, for strategic reasons, to kill millions of innocent people.

Here, too, the Americans are more concrete in their instructions, as in the passage where they urge Catholics to fast for peace on Fridays.

The passages that are addressed to the men and women in the arms industry must also be seen in a national context. Like the passage addressed to soldiers, they tell them quite clearly that they need not have a bad conscience regarding their work because the bishops accept the concept of deterrence though they reject the use of nuclear weapons.

The most important difference between the two peace messages lies in the different premises — something that must appear particularly interesting an indeed revolutionary to Catholics in particular. Yet few seem to have noticed this.

The American bishops want to give concrete answers to concrete questions. As good shepherds, they want to point the way to their flock right down to strategic details.

The German bishops, on the other hand, do not want to shirk concrete answers but they consider that only experts can come up with specific answers. They, themselves, provide only the criteria; but as men of the church they have no way of saying whether a strategy meets these criteria.

The extent to which this moral and theological attitude (whereby the bishops provide the criteria while leaving the final judgment to experts) respects the maturity of Christians becomes obvious when the same approach is applied to other moral-theological questions such as contraception.

The dynamite contained in the three criteria that make deterrence only just tolerable becomes obvious when applied to concrete weapons. If this were done we would have to ask:

• Does the deployment of new miss-

PROTEST

The peace movement pulls itself together

iles make the waging of war more probable?

- Is their deployment and prevention war through deterrence?
- Is their deployment compatible with an effective arms limitation, reduction and disarmament?

sides?

The onus of proof lies with

parties. Most people under-

stand the radicalness of the bishops

in a northern suburb of Bonn where

the city still has a rural look prepara-

tion for the campaign

and the first strike. The Greens in Germany.

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The only question raised is

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■ FINANCE

Inflexibility blamed for East Bloc's economic crisis

One of the reasons for economic crisis in the East Bloc is that the system is not able to make fundamental reforms. Neither is it able to work out a strategy to cope, says Professor Seiffert.

That sets the tone for the book. He offers not a glimmer of hope for the East Bloc economies. Nor for the people affected by them.

He says the reforms are needed to change the inefficiency of the central planning system and to create a flexibility able to deal with variations in world market conditions.

A Kiel university professor, Seiffert is more familiar than most Westerners with the ideas, plans, hopes and problems in Comecon's executive suites.

He was a legal adviser to Comecon from 1969 to 1977 and met many of its top brass. As a frequent visitor to Comecon headquarters in Moscow, he had plenty of opportunity to discuss their

problems. His years in Moscow also gave him a first hand view of the limitations of the organisation and the roots of its crisis.

He has pondered the problem as to whether the East Bloc can escape the economic crisis that is clearly looming and that is bound to have its impact on the West as well.

His answer to the question raised in the title of his book is that optimism is unwarranted.

Far from just presenting a report on Comecon, the author provides much background material and analyses based on extensive personal experience. All this has resulted in sound advice on how the West should respond to the crisis.

He rejects the idea that the West should accelerate the destabilisation of the East Bloc because this would not hasten but prolong the decline.

But he warns against economic and financial aid without strings attached, i.e. without any control over what happens with it and without insistence that measures to put the economy back on its feet be introduced.

Professor Seiffert rejects the Western theory that Soviet-type political systems must be kept stable and the ruling parties strengthened.

Such a policy, he says, can only lead to political systems dictated by the Communist Party.

He shocks the reader with his call on the West to operate on the assumption that the 'basic conflict of the two systems is irreconcilable.'

The author stresses, however, that maintaining one's own position does not mean 'forgoing a change in the general political and social status quo.'

As he sees it, the West's policy towards the Comecon states must strive to bring about such a change with peaceful means and within the framework of international law. The general direction of the drive must be 'towards a lasting peace in Europe by progressing beyond détente as a mere containment of the basic conflict.'

Professor Seiffert: 'This also includes overcoming the division of Germany.'

His opening chapter, entitled 'A West German in Comecon,' reads like a thriller.

He describes the establishment of Comecon as 'Stalin's answer to the

Wolfgang Seiffert, *Kann der Ostblock überleben? Der Comecon und die Krise des Sozialistischen Wirtschaftssystems (Can the East Bloc survive? Comecon and the Crisis of the Socialist Economic System)*, Gustav Lübbe Verlag, Bergisch Gladbach, 284pp, DM34.

Marshall Plan' and revealing surprising background information on the invasion of Czechoslovakia (in his chapter 'Brezhnev's response to Dubcek's attempt at reform').

The author, who took part in many Comecon conferences, describes how the organisation operates, the way in which its members can influence it and even the role of the 'Germans in Comecon.'

But the essence of his book are the analyses of the causes of the economic crisis in the East and the practical effects of ideology within the system.

He sees the root of the troubles in the inefficiency of the central planning system that would need fundamental reforms to bring about and lastingly ensure prosperity and be able to flexibly cope with impulses and setbacks resulting from world market conditions.'

An absolute must if the crisis is to be overcome is to introduce reforms that would change the system, he says.

Professor Seiffert puts his finger on the core of the problem: 'The system's inability to introduce fundamental reforms is one of the reasons for the crisis and the lack of a strategy with which to overcome it.'

Incidentally, doubts as to the viability of the socialist economic system have been voiced in the GDR with different degrees of clarity for years, among others by Professor Fritz Bohrens...

A member of the Academy of Science in East Berlin, Bohrens was rumoured to be the 'actual father of the new economic system' which seemed promising but was dropped by Erich Honecker.

As far back as 1966, Professor Bohrens wrote: 'In view of the rising level of production and a growing variety of needs, the effectiveness of centrally controlled administrative methods is no longer sufficient. More effectiveness should now be achieved by a meaningful blend of central and decentralised management...'

Such a policy, he says, can only lead to political systems dictated by the Communist Party.'

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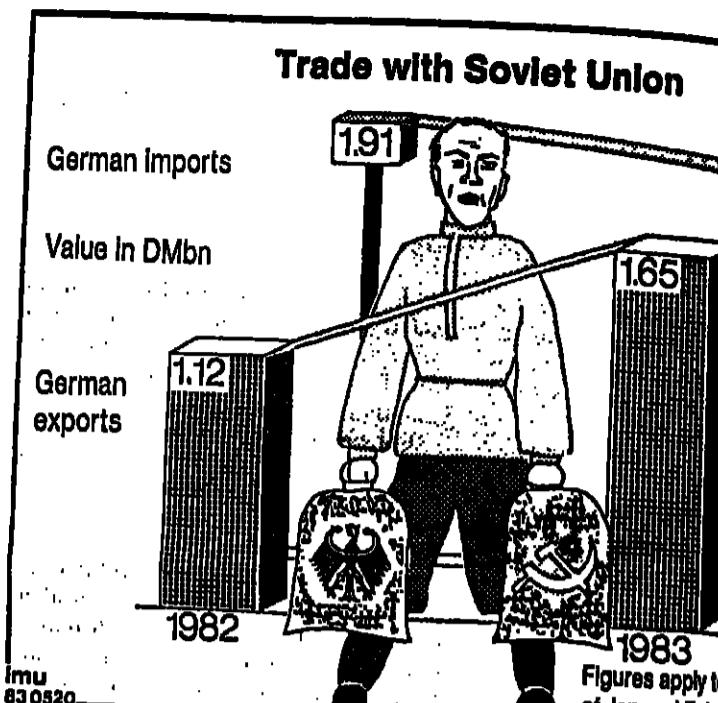
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Figures apply to the months of Jan and Feb in each year.

Raw materials for equipment to booming trade with Soviet Union

Germany's trade with the Soviet Union is growing fast despite heavy restrictions on political grounds.

The volume of exports has grown so much over the years that it now totals half as much again as the Saudi Arabian total and is nearly half the amount sent to the USA.

Other nations are also increasing trade with the Russians. Japan now exports more than Germany.

This all indicates that the Soviet Union is trying to modernise its own industry by stopping up imports from the West.

The gas-pipeline deal with Western Europe is only one example. The Russians have shown more interest in a wide range of manufactured goods.

This new era of expansion is an opportunity for German industry, which has an excellent reputation in the Soviet Union. Political considerations are the main handicap.

The Soviet Union has something that Germany doesn't have: raw materials. It has more than anybody else, while the Federal Republic is the world's third largest buyer of them.

The Soviet Union also needs what Germany makes: industrial plant and machinery. It has the equipment the Russians need to exploit their huge supply of natural resources.

There is yet another reason why the Soviet Union is an ideal trading partner.

Continued on page 7

ner. Unlike other growing nations as Latin America and Asia, which has no financing problems, Germany has financing problems, but not heavy restrictions on political grounds.

Continued from page 6

As a result, few other nations are dealing with the significance of ideology, Professor Seiffert deplores.

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■ BUSINESS

Ledger domain: vanishing trick of the private bank

Securities account for half of the private banks' earnings at best. The rest is accounted for by short-term loans.

Take Berenberg, Gossler & Co. Here the ratio of earnings is 46 per cent interest and 54 commission.

Though undisclosed, experts estimate the interest margin to range between two and 3.5 per cent. The Bethmann Bank puts its margin at 2.1 per cent.

What gives the private bankers their edge over their big counterparts is their flexibility and on-the-spot decisions.

To achieve a balance of DM65bn, a major bank must have a payroll of 20,000 while the small banks achieve balances of more than DM1bn with only 300 or 400 employees; and the boss makes a point of personally advising every customer.

Joachim Wetzel, a partner in Berenberg, Gossler & Co., 'Banking is no fun if you don't know every customer. And if you're to know every customer you must limit your volume of business.'

As Hans-Dieter Sandweg, a personally liable partner in Warburg, Brinckmann, Wirtz & Co., sees it, 'there is no need for constantly growing balances.'

The same limitation of growth applies to the branch offices of private banks. Between 1968 and 1973, the number of branches grew by 44 to 322. Now, they are down to 259.

The exception to this rule is the Schmidbank in Hof with 90 branches in Franconia and Eastern Bavaria where this bank has assumed the role of a purely regional institution.

This does not apply to Schröder, Mühlemeyer, Höhst & Co. (SMH) of Frankfurt, Hamburg and Offenbach. The minimum deposit there is DM500,000.

But the customer is pampered. Highly skilled portfolio managers look after the money needs of the chosen few. For example, 100 of SMH's 349 staff members are securities analysts and portfolio managers.

According to Hamburg's private bankers, a customer can get his portfolio manager out of bed at 2 a.m. when he stands a good chance of getting not only a sound investment tip but also a drink to go with it.

It is not only wealthy individuals but major industrial corporations as well that like to use private banks for their more 'delicate' deals.

Berenberg, Gossler & Co. has businesses, the City of Hamburg, publishing houses, shipyards and oil companies among its customers.

Marcard & Co. seriously as a private bank.

For its mass business, the Marcard Bank has acquired a 66 per cent stake in Fischer & Co., Hamburg, a private bank with a balance of DM448m (1982).

Here, customers are coddled whatever the size of their deposits. They appreciate this and do not run to a big bank for a fraction of a percentage point, says von Marcard.

Wetzel of Berenberg, Gossler & Co. offers his customers a once-a-year golfing spree: 'I don't like to miss out on a deal, but golf is a passion with me.'

Iwan Herstatt (of the now defunct Herstatt Bank) is said to have been a wizard at drumming up business. He never went anywhere without a batch of account opening forms. He was a great believer in word-of-mouth advertising, and it seems to have worked splendidly with him.

The most successful of Germany's private banks is Sal. Oppenheim & Cie (founded in 1789) of Cologne and Frankfurt. Its 1982 balance was DM10.2 bn (payroll 673). This puts this private bank among Germany's 50 largest, followed by Trinkhaus & Burkhardt (DM5.1bn and a payroll of 645). Since 1980, Britain's Midland Bank has had a 66.6 per cent stake in Trinkhaus & Burkhardt.

Among the other large private banks are SMH (DM3.4bn and 349 employees) and Warburg, Brinckmann, Wirtz & Co. (DM2.3bn, payroll 418). Prospects for private banks have never been as good as now, comments Joachim Wetzel. And indeed the private banks look to the future with optimism.

They pin their hopes on their personalised counselling for each branch of business, estate management and letters of credit.

The private banks are in an excellent position to handle foreign deals through correspondent banks abroad. Financial deals can be wrapped up within a matter of hours.

Comments the spokesman of one of the mammoth banks: 'There will and there should always be private banks. They're simply part of our banking landscape.'

And it is not only the big banks that are investing in the future.

Since the beginning of this year, a computer company has been tinkering with a special computer programme for private banks at Berenberg, Gossler & Co.

Marlene Röder

(General-Analist Bonn, 28 July 1983)

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Question: The Soviet Union has threatened counter-measures of various kinds if missile modernisation goes ahead according to schedule should the Geneva INF talks break down and Pershing 2 missiles are stationed in the Federal Republic of Germany. What do you think the Russians will actually do?

Answer: The Geneva talks aren't over yet. I expect the Soviet leaders to give way in return for minor concessions, probably just before the final deadline.

The Soviet leaders will be hoping to enlist the support of a part of Western public opinion for a postponement of missile modernisation by Nato and a delay in the stationing of new weapons, especially Pershing 2s.

Any delay is to the Soviet leaders' advantage. It will foster uncertainty and would be the first climb-down by the West in implementation of the Nato dual-track decision.

If missile modernisation goes ahead in the wake of a total breakdown at the Geneva talks I should expect there to be a nerve-racking propaganda campaign and possibly a number of mainly demonstrative military counter-measures.

The purpose of these counter-measures would for the most part to heighten the psychologico-political pressure.

Yet no matter how bitterly the Soviet leaders may complain about moves by the West they will take good care not to overstep the mark.

First, because the Russians are keen to continue and expand economic relations with the Federal Republic, especially in the technological sector.

Second, because their current relations with the United States, Britain and France are, to put it cautiously, a little only on the chilly side, while the process of

Politics at first hand

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PERSPECTIVE

Soviet line gives cause for neither hope nor fear

The West must stand up to the Soviet Union, says writer Wolfgang Leonhard, 62, in an interview with Herbert Krempl of *Die Welt*. Leonhard's parents were German emigrés. He grew up in the Soviet Union, came to Berlin in 1945 and sought refuge in the West in 1950. He is an internationally renowned expert on East Bloc affairs and a lecturer at Yale University in New Haven, Conn.

normalisation envisaged in ties with China has run into difficulties.

This being so, it is unlikely to be in the Soviet leaders' interest to overstrain relations with the Federal Republic of Germany.

If they were to do so the result might be that Moscow would find itself increasingly isolated in its external affairs.

Q: Is Mr Andropov firmly in power or is his position in any way uncertain, be it for health or political reasons?

A: There are many indications that Mr Andropov is only a transitional leader, although initially he seems as Mr

Brezhnev's successor to have been given all power and authority.

He has been general secretary of the CPSU since November 1982, chairman of the Defence Council since May 1983 and chairman of the presidium of the Supreme Soviet, or head of state, since June 1983.

At present there can be no doubt that he is No. 1, but his fairly advanced age makes it seem doubtful whether he can hold on to this position for any length of time.

When Stalin took over as general secretary in the spring of 1922 he was 43. When Khrushchev became Party leader in 1953 he was 59. When Brezhnev took over in October 1964 he was 58.

Mr Andropov took over as leader at the age of 68, and in the Soviet leadership general secretary makes several years in which to consolidate his power. It takes at least until the next Party Congress.

The 27th CPSU Congress is due to be held in the spring of 1986. By then Mr Andropov will 72.

It is not just a matter of his term of office. Even more far-reaching changes at the top are due before long. Mr Andropov's closest associates are all well into their 70s.

Premier Nikolai Tikhonov is 78, Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko is 74 and Defence Minister Dimitri Ustinov will be 75 in October.

So it cannot be long before new men will have to take over key posts in the Soviet leadership, and that will be no easy task.

Initial preparations seem already to be in progress. A troika of younger men appear to be coming to the fore, although they are still overshadowed by the older leaders.

They are Nikolai Romanov, 60, from Leningrad, who seems to be mainly responsible for industry and economic affairs; First Deputy Premier Gaidar Aliyev, 60, from Azerbaijan, who is mainly responsible for home affairs; and Mikhail Gorbatchov, 52, who is responsible for agriculture in the politburo and the central committee secretariat.

If they take over in succession to the older generation of Kremlin leaders they will be the first Soviet leaders who did not learn the ropes under Stalin; all three have made their way to the top since Stalin's death in March 1953.

A new generation would at long last have taken over in the Kremlin. Only then will we be able to tell whether a change of manpower at the top is enough to enable the Soviet Union to embark on modernisation worth mentioning and on urgently needed reforms. But that remains to be seen.

Q: Have there been domestic and foreign policy changes in the Soviet Union since Mr Brezhnev's death that might be termed structural or likely to have any future effect?

A: No. Changes have been limited to differences in emphasis as regards method, not content. Mr Andropov's speeches are in part more attuned to reality.

At times he refers more openly to shortages. A campaign against corruption was conducted for a while (but has now been scrapped).

Another striking point is that Mr Andropov has placed slightly greater emphasis than in the past on the rights of non-Russian nationalities.

In the economic sector a number of what are officially termed experiments

are being undertaken, albeit to no more than a limited extent.

The limitations are apparent fact that even the concept of dual-track is still not permitted in the Soviet Union.

There has been no easing on Soviet civil rights campaign. Democrats (who in the West are what unclearly, and in part known as dissidents), but

surveillance on them has intensified.

Soviet foreign policy has

remained unchanged, maintaining close

relations with the Brezhnev era.

The campaign against the dual-

track decision has been con-

tinued to improve ties with China.

There are no job worries at Dornier,

no encounter difficulties.

The Dornier group began as the Dornier aircraft division of the Zeppelin airship company but decided to go it alone in 1922.

It differs in many respects from what

the general public expects an aerospace company to be like.

Its hallmarks have been the success

of Dornier design engineers and sales

staff with short and vertical take-off

aircraft.

The Do 27 was the company's first post-war best seller: 650 were built and sold. It proved as useful in many Third World countries as it was in the early days of the Bundeswehr.

It was the first post-war German plane that was a commercial success. Technically it was a winner in any case.

Incidentally, as a subcontractor Dornier does not have to shoulder any of the risk the Airbus project inevitably entails.

Turnover has undeniably increased steadily in the military sector, including missiles, torpedoes, reconnaissance devices and drones.

It has also increased in the space sector and, in particular, in new technologies, of which the Do 228 commuter aircraft is the most advanced example.

Esu, the European Space Agency, has acknowledged Dornier's expertise in awarding the company leadership of the consortium that designed and built the ERS-1 terrestrial observation satellite.

These are words that are far from

sober assessment.

The difference between democracy and dictatorship is a factor that

that has a long-term effect.

In the long run will probably

be more important than the number

of missiles or aircraft.

But as for the immediate present, Soviet policy gives Bonn

neither cause for hope nor reason for fear, we know it.

It is encouraging to note that

of euphoric detente has come

without a reversion to cold war.

Only Dornier steadfastly steer

the way of cooperation and mergers and

we now know it.

"We have repaid to the last pfennig

the loans we were given by Bonn to

protect the cost of developing and con-

structing the Skyservant.

"We will be repaying the aid we have

been lent in connection with the Do 228

too. That's how optimistic we are," says

Bernhard Schmidt.

These are words that are far from

sober assessment.

The Do 228 is the ultimate

in commuter and multi-purpose

aircraft. Dornier are confident it will

earn money and keep staff in employ-

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■ MEDICINE

Treating spine complaints gets to root of other problems

Among the most common forms of complaint today are those which affect the body's system of controlling its movement. This involves the skeleton, the nerves and the muscles.

Most of the problems stem from the spinal column. Sixty per cent of women and 80 per cent of men over 50 have degenerative changes in the spine, according to Professor Herbert Junghanns, a pioneer in spinal research.

But he says that this degeneration alone does not always cause problems, especially if the muscle system surrounding the spine is strong enough to support it.

There could, however, be disorders of the complicated vertebrae system without symptoms.

A Swiss survey of internists shows that about 30 per cent of their patients could profit from manual medicine. The percentage is likely to be even higher for general practitioners or orthopaedists, said Schwarz.

Both terms are derived from the word "hand" (one in Latin, one in Greek). The reason for this is that functional changes of the skin, muscles and joints can usually only be discovered through a painstaking manual examination. Frequently, the complaint can be alleviated or cured through manipulation.

Chiropractic manipulation has been in use for thousands of years. But until recently modern European medicine left this field to non-medical specialists, chiropractors.

In America, a variant of this manual medicine, osteopathy, has gained academic recognition, and the Doctor of Osteopathy degree equals a general medical degree. This was pointed out by Professor Friedrich Loew at the recent 7th Interdisciplinary Forum of the German Medical Association in Cologne.

Loew urged that this neglected medical discipline be given more emphasis in medical training in this country.

German chiropractors now receive their training in practical courses organised by the German Society for Manual Medicine in Neutrauburg and Hamm. Only four German medical schools teach manual medicine.

Doctors who have passed several of these courses can become members of the Society and, following a final examination, add the word "Chiropractor" to their nameplate.

Patients should know about this before they consult a chiropractor because manual medicine was with some reason looked at with suspicion for a long time.

Conventional medicine left chiropractic to outsiders, primarily people without a medical degree who knew how to manipulate but frequently used this practice where it was not called for and could therefore be harmful.

Chiropractors today keep within their limitations, E. Schwarz, president of the Swiss Medical Society for Manual Medicine, told a German Medical Association Congress in Montecatini-Terme recently.

Even so, there were doctors who manipulated the spinal column without having the experience. They had simply learned a few grips and positions.

Many national health organisations provided lists of doctors qualified to carry out manual examinations and treatment.

But some of these lists, such as the one in Berlin, are compiled from information provided by national health doctors, criticised Berlin orthopaedic specialist Karl-Heinz Drogula, president of the German Society for Manual Medicine. They did not take into account whether the person listed was actually a trained chiropractor.

A chiropractor with a sound knowledge of the necessary techniques who uses manipulation only where it is really called for can provide relief for a great many pain-ridden patients.

A Swiss survey of internists shows that about 30 per cent of their patients could profit from manual medicine. The percentage is likely to be even higher for general practitioners or orthopaedists, said Schwarz.

Disorders due to a blockage between vertebrae are particularly suitable for chiropractic treatment.

This type of blockage, which is functional rather than anatomic, restricts a joint's normal scope of movement. Appropriate manipulation can restore this movement and rid the patient of pain.

In some cases, all complaints can be removed with a simple twist resulting in an audible click. A case in point is lumbar, painful condition involving the lumbar muscles.

But such instant successes are the exception rather than the rule, Schwarz told the congress that manipulation or

the softer technique of osteopathic mobilisation must be only part of a comprehensive individual therapy plan. Dr Drogula also stressed the interplay of manual medicine and other therapeutic measures and warned against using chiropractics only. A surprisingly large number of disorders can be treated by manipulation provided this warning is heeded. Some types of headaches, dizziness, shoulder and arm pains and cricks in the neck are disorders of the neck section of the spinal column.

Five-language dog tags for diabetics are now available in the spinal column. gileh, French, German, Italian and Spanish. They are to explain the problem for holidaymakers in case of emergency. (Photo: Strobel/Die Welt)

It transpired time and again at the Montecatini congress that those of spinal column disorders are hand in hand with muscular tension and a strengthening of the "corset" that supports the spine.

These insights are based on the results of research into muscle physiology, especially the work of Vojtěch Janda (Prague).

According to this research, Konrad Adenauer is a big plant with important to prevent muscular overactive scent. It was christened by patients with disorders of the spine in 1950 and is still a favourite 30

years later. Systematic stretching of muscles that have been shortened as a result of inactivity and end of the year. Only one flower was in bloom well as a movement function can be reversed.

In such cases, it is useless to treat the blockage. What must be done is to treat the muscle instead.

Just the jab!

Dr Drogula stressed that certain types of muscle pain in the spinal column region are not always due to blocked vertebrae but that the causality can also be reversed.

Lumbago and sciatica can also be treated by manual manipulation, though not always successfully.

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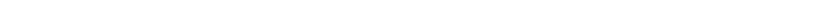
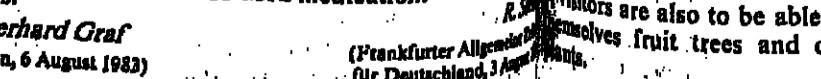
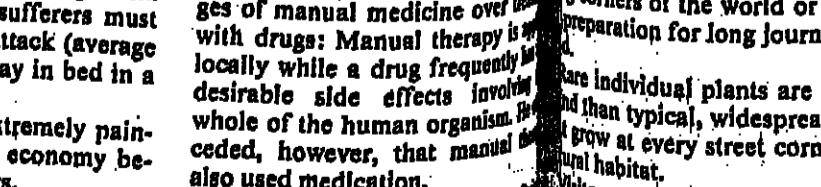
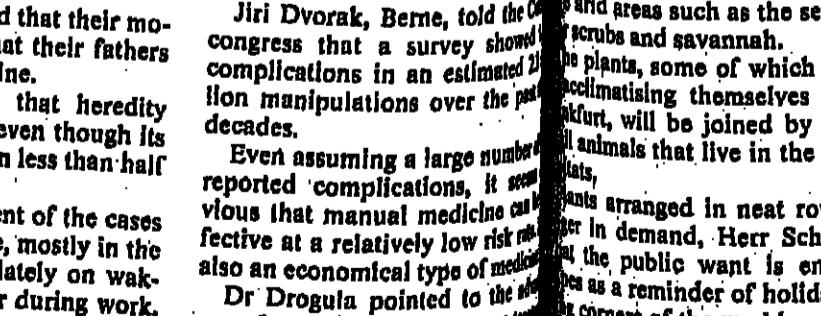
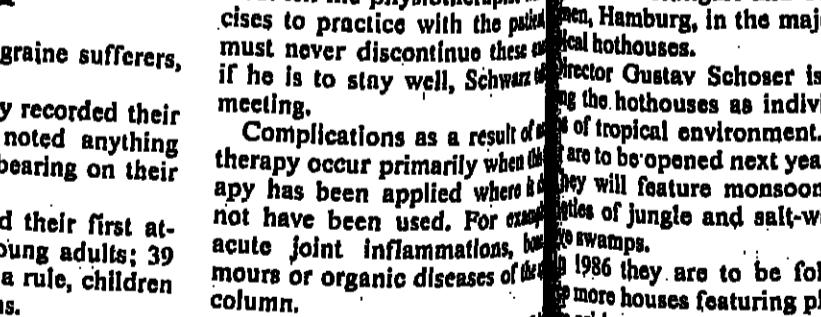
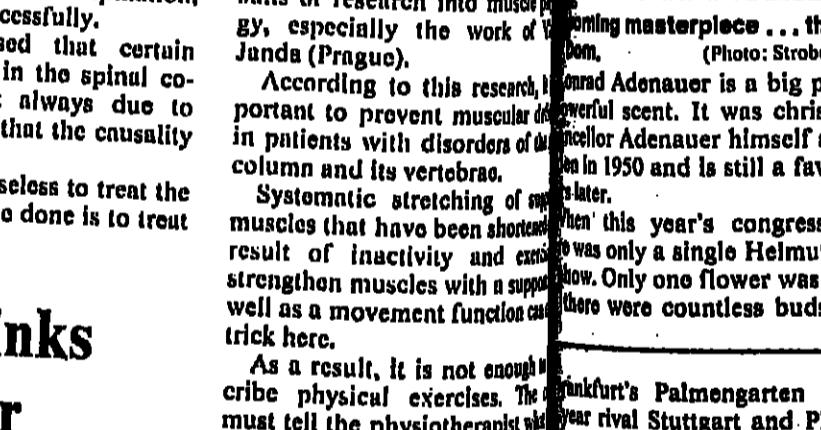
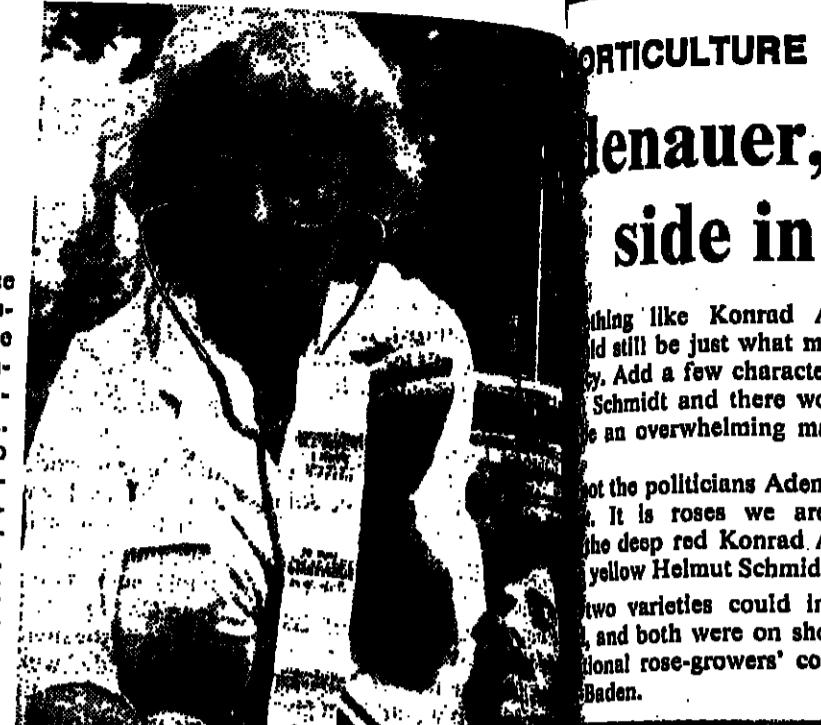
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The prickly issue of whether the armed forces should use women to maintain recruiting levels has been raised again.

The only women in the Bundeswehr uniform at the moment are doctors. But Bonn is thinking of widening its scope because it expects a manpower shortage by the end of the decade.

Views on the issue are divided. Just before the Bundestag's summer recess MP Ursula Krone-Apauhn (CSU) urged Parliament to permit women to join the forces and undergo tough basic training.

Her SPD colleague Herta Däubler-Gmelin retorted sharply: "Under no circumstances." The idea was unthinkable.

The issue is so controversial that politicians have never really tackled it.

Former Defence Minister Hans Apel procrastinated by appointing a panel to assess the pros and cons. Manfred Wörner, the current Minister, does not seem to think much of panels, but he is quite happy to let a lot of lawyers spend a lot of time examining the Constitution for any possible scope that would allow women to serve in the forces.

Since the debate 15 years ago on the emergency laws, the Constitution has had an Article 12a. Section 4 of this article severely restricts the use of women in the forces.

It states: "If, in case of a war, the need for civilian services in the fields of sanitisation and medicine cannot be met by military installations and volunteers, women aged between 18 and 65 can be drafted into such services through legislation. They shall under no circumstances carry arms."

Any ideas Bonn might have on this issue must stay within the framework of Article 12a. It can therefore be taken for granted that:

- Only women who have volunteered can become soldiers;
- There can be no draft for women;
- Women can only serve in units where they will not be involved in armed combat.

Theoretically, it should of course be possible to amend the Constitution and introduce the draft for women. This would require a two-thirds Bundestag majority.

But no politicians, male or female, seriously consider this.

This makes it the more grotesque that leftist groups and members of the Peace Movement are "outraged" because, as they maintain, somebody urged a draft for women. This is totally unfounded.

But women are nevertheless no rarity in the Bundeswehr. There have been

Continued from page 13

Prizes were awarded. Julius won gold because it was an absolute novelty.

The trend in rose-growing is back to nature. Less interest is being shown in flowers the size of cauliflower and in stems a metre long.

The small-flowered varieties resembling wild roses are in demand, especially in pastel shades. But the classic red rose will always be the most important.

Over the centuries so much significance has been attributed to the red rose for its popularity ever to wane.

Gisela Mehlmann
(Die Zeit, 29 July 1983)

SOCIETY

Talk of putting women into uniform raises hackles

women doctors in uniform since 1975 (85 so far), their highest rank being colonel. But these women officers are not in combat units.

What do women themselves think of Bundeswehr service?

An opinion survey in the spring of 1982 showed that 71 per cent of women aged between 18 and 24 are in favour of it; 21 per cent would consider volunteering.

The figures show that women in the appropriate age group are interested in the Bundeswehr as an occupation. This reveals trends that long ago led to the opening up of the armed forces to women in other countries.

In the Western democracies, it was the drive for equality between the sexes that gained women access to the forces.

In the USA, the drive was aided by the fact that the humiliation of the Vietnamese defeat resulted in fewer volunteers. Later, the abolition of the draft forced the Administration to seek new ways of filling the ranks.

Women, along with negroes and other ethnic groups hoping to rise on the social scale, helped fill the gap. Today, just under 200,000 US soldiers are women: nine per cent of the armed forces.

Moreover, women in barracks would in all likelihood revolutionise what is traditionally a men's world. The men would have to change their attitude and their male role in a different light.

This has been demonstrated by the experiences made in the US and other Western forces.

Police broaden the role of female officers

As far back as 1979, Dr Carol Anne Martin arrived at similar conclusions following a three-year survey of the work of policewomen in the USA.

She found that most policewomen picked this job to help and protect others. They were motivated by "unselfishness," said Dr Martin in her study.

The women had a hard time: 40 per cent of the male officers interviewed by Forum Z opposed women as part of a patrol, saying that the work was too tough for them.

The police officers' view of their work is based on many of their own touch and go experiences and injuries in the line of duty.

But are these hard men not simply unwilling (or incapable) to solve conflicts without violence?

Women lack the physical strength needed to get tough, and many consider this a shortcoming, says Forum Z.

The study concludes that policewomen have a soothing effect in conflicts. This can have the effect of gaining time until either reinforcements arrive or the situation resolves itself.

Non-violent settlement takes time, however, and this is why 40 per cent of the male police reject them. But the public is in favour.

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